

Thompson (John) Baron Haverham

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*Some perhaps may think, That after such wonderful Success, as we have
had the late Year, after the French King has lost Italy, and been forced to
order and engage to send to your Lordships of any thing, as I have
the last Application from him a Paper, and there to expose the Weakness
of his own Judgment, that shall be a sufficient Reason, to make
a Mistrust of him, from whence, as I shall present, that your Lordships
know to prove my Truth.*

THE Lord Haverham's SPEECH

In the HOUSE of PEERS,

Wednesday the 12th of January, 1703.

On the late intended Invasion of SCOTLAND.

My Lords,

I Have a greater Respect for your Lordships than to keep you in any Expectation;
there's nothing I can say, I am sure, can in the least deserve it.

My Lords, When the Campaign was at an End, when a Land Tax lay on
your Table, when the due Respect had been paid to that Sorrow, in which we
all bear a part, when the Session of Parliament was so greatly advanc'd, and a long
Recess so near at hand, I thought it might be a proper Time to put your Lordships in
mind of the late intended Invasion; and the rather, because an Enquiry into this,
seem'd to me, to be what the Nation expected, and what I have observ'd, even those
who have differ'd in their Thoughts about it, yet unanimously desir'd; but above all,
because it is a Matter, in which not only our Welfare and Happinels, but our very
Being it self, the Security of the Nation, and the Safety of Her Majesty, are so highly con-
cern'd.

I did endeavour to prove the first of these to your Lordships, when I made you this
Motion, by Reasons taken from the Flourishing of your Trade, the Support of your Cre-
dit, the Nature of your Victories, and the Quieting of Mens Minds at Home; and shall
now, with your Lordship's Leave, say a few Words to the other part, and shew your
Lordships how much this Enquiry concerns us all in point of Safety.

Some



Some perhaps may think, That after such wonderful Successes Abroad, as we have had the last Year, after the French King has lost *Lisle*, and been forc'd to abandon *Ghent* and *Bruges*; to speak to your Lordships of any Danger at Home, or to have the least Apprehension from such a Bagged Enemy, were to expose the Weakness of a Man's own Judgment, but I shall endeavour to shew your Lordships how dangerous a Mistake this is, from Example, Reason and Authority, the three best Arguments I know to prove any Truth.

My Lords, Were not *Hochstet* and *Ramillies* as Glorious Victories, and as great Mortifications to the French King, as our taking of *Lisle*, or reducing of *Ghent*, and yet after such intire Victories, such repeated Defeats, had not this haughty Neighbour of ours, the Presumption the last Year, to attempt the Setting a Pretender upon Her Majesty's Throne? And can we reasonably promise our selves any Security when ever he is in a Condition to give us the least Disturbance? And is he not in a Condition? Is he not as near us this Year as he was last, notwithstanding all our Conquests? That's an Advantage our Allies only have by them, to have their Enemy at a greater Distance. Has he not as many Ships, and as many Friends too, except one, as I mention'd to your Lordships? Nay, My Lords, Has he not as great Encouragement to renew his Attempt as he had to undertake it, as I shall presently shew your Lordships; from whence then does our great Security arise? Besides, My Lords, What is yet further, Every Body is convinc'd by the inconsiderable Force, the small Number of Ships and Troops, the French King imploy'd in the late Attempt upon us the last Year, That his chief Dependence was upon the Incouragement and Promises of Assistance he had from hence; and yet notwithstanding all our Enquiries, is it not as great a Mystery to this Day as it was, who the Persons amongst us are, who were concerned in this black and unnatural Treason.

'Tis true, My Lords, several Persons of great Quality and Interest have been taken up upon Suspicion, brought from their own Homes and Country, whilst others thereby have had the Opportunity of Supplanting them in their Interest there; 'tis not for me to say whether this proceeded from Ill Will to some, or Favour to others, but has any thing been proved against them? Does not the Bail that has been given for them, and their Sitting in this House, convince every Body of their Innocency; so that this way of Proceeding has rather proved Vexations to the Subject, than any real Security to the Government, and I hope will make us for the future set a greater Value upon our Habeas Corpus Act, which was the Right of every Subject before, by Common Law.

Nor has the Characters that have been made of Persons to be suspected, had any better effect; there are two I shall mention to your Lordships, and I think greater Mistakes than both of them can scarce be put into Words; the first is, That Men of Arbitrary Principles are the Persons who ought to be suspected; this Argument has been very much labour'd, and great Pains has been taken to perswade the World from Mens Practices in former Reigns, that they are still of Arbitrary Principles, and from thence 'tis inferr'd they ought to be suspected. I shall not trouble your Lordships or my self at present to shew the Weakness of this Argument, I will take it as they that have made use of it wou'd have it, for a strong and undeniable Consequence, and then I ask, What, My Lords, is the Nation to suspect any who are at the Head of your Ministry, of giving this Incouragement to your Enemy? For I will be bold to say in this Place, if this be a good Argument, it is as strong against some who are at the Head of your Ministry, as against any Man I know of who is out of it.

There is another Character of Suspicious Persons, which I cannot but take Notice of, because I take it to be very fatal to the Freedom of Parliament, for it is impossible for any Man to take notice, either in Parliament, or to the Queen Her self, of any wrong Measures, or false Step in the Management of Publick Affairs without so far reflecting on the Ministry, and if this is to be interpreted as an Artful Method of lessening Her Majesty's just Esteem of Her Ministers, and those who do so are to be mark'd as Dangerous to the Safety of Her Majesty's Person, and the present

sent Establishment. I am afraid Her Majesty for the future may have several Things conceal'd from Her, which might be for Her Service to know, and one of the great Ends and Uses of Parliaments, the Redressing of Grievances, and keeping great Men in Awe, will quickly be laid aside. But, My Lords, we have a very visible Instance, that this is a great Mistake, for do we not see those Lords, who the last Year espoused the Case and Complaint of the Merchants in Parliament: now advanced to the greatest Places of Trust and Power, so that these two Methods have rather shewed us, who ought not, than who are to be suspected.

My Lords, I shall now take Leave to say one Word to the positive Part, and if we would apply an Observation of the Schools to the Case in hand, I believe it would set this Matter in the truest Light. They tell us there is a great difference to be made between a Division and a Distinction: Every Division is indeed a Distinction, but every Distinction is not a Division; the Soul and the Body are distinct, but they are not divided, for that would be a State of Death; it is so in this Case, The Papist, Jacobite, and Nonjuror, are a Party of Men divided from the rest of the Nation; they want that *forma informans*, as they call it, that vital Spirit of Love and Loyalty that animates every good Subject: But as for others, however they may be distinguish'd, and differ among themselves in their Notions relating either to Ecclesiastical or Civil Policy, yet they seem all to have the same Regard and Concern for the Honour and Safety of Her Majesty and Government. I would not be misunderstood, as if I did not think some of all Persuasions may be faulty: I know, that even among the Apostles themselves, *He that bore the Bag prov'd the Traytor*: My meaning only is, That those who have taken the Test to the Government, may at least pretend to an equal Degree of your Charity with those who never yet own'd it; and it is these Persons who never swore to the Government, that Her Majesty directly points at, in Her last Speech to Her last Parliament; for after she has been pleas'd to say, 'It is certain we must be all inexcusable, if we do not take warning from this Attempt, to complete what may be necessary for our Security at Home, and the discouraging the like for the future; to which, by God's Blessing, there shall be nothing wanting on my Part. In the following Paragraph She is pleas'd to add, 'I must recommend to you, at your Return into your several Counties, to use your utmost Care and Diligence in putting the Laws in Execution against Papists, and all others disaffected to My Government, and in making them pay towards the Publick Taxes to the full of what the Law requires from them: Nothing being more reasonable than that they, who by their Principles and Practices encourage (if not actually foment) such Disturbances, should doubly contribute to the Charge of Quieting them, and securing the Kingdom's Peace, and should know themselves on all such Occasions to be responsible for the many Inconveniencies that may ensue; which Two Paragraphs will, I hope, Justifie what I have taken Notice of to your Lordships.

My Lords, I do not forget the Obligation I am under to a Noble Lord, and therefore shall now shew your Lordships, That notwithstanding the French King failed in his late Attempt upon us, yet he has more Encouragement to renew it, than he had at first to undertake it: And, My Lords, I think a great deal that I have said to your Lordships proves it. Is it not a great Encouragement to him, to see, notwithstanding so many Friends that he has amongst us, all the Methods that we have hitherto taken has signify'd so little to discover any of them? And that those Methods have not been taken, that might perhaps have signify'd more towards a Discovery, and have been made use of at other Times; I mean Promises both of Pardon and Reward. Does he not see how easily he can shake the main Pillar that supports all our Commerce, I mean the Bank? Was it not in danger of Breaking? And has it recover'd the Blow to this Day that he gave it? For, My Lords, If Men cannot be Masters of their own Money, which they

trust with any Body, upon no other Reason but that they may command it again in any Case of Necessity, without being look'd upon as suspected Persons, I believe Men will be so wise as to secure both their Money and themselves too from any such Danger. There is another Encouragement which he has, *My Lords*, and that is the *Weak and Defenceless Condition of Scotland, the Deficiency of Force, and Ill State of your Garisons there, at the Time of the Invasion*, notwithstanding the certain Accounts and Knowledge we had of it. What, *My Lords*, Will no Alarm awaken us? Will the Scales never fall off from our Eyes? Must some Mens mighty Services prevent our looking into others great Miscarriages? And must this poor Nation be eternally sawn asunder by the Struggles of Contending Parties? *My Lords*, I hope it is not thought that I have been thus urgent with your Lordships from any Fears of Personal Danger: I am content to take my Lot with others as it falls, whatever it be; but I am afraid lest *Her Majesty should be dethron'd whilst she lives, and that the Destruction of Popery or Slavery, whilst we are speaking Peace to our selves, should suddenly, like a Flood, break in upon us.*

My Lords, If your Lordships have any Intention of looking into this Matter, I shall make your Lordships a Motion which perhaps may give us some Light; it is indeed a Complex one, and rather a Schedule of Papers; it is, *That Her Majesty will please to order that there may be laid before this House; At what Time Her Majesty receiv'd the first Account of the Intended Invasion? What Orders were thereupon issued into Scotland, with Relation either to the Forces or Garisons? What was the number of Regular Troops and Forces there, at the Time of this Intelligence? What was the State of the Garisons there at that Time? What Augmentation was made, or Forces sent thither, from the Time of the Intelligence to the Time of the Invasion? What Orders has been given with Relation to the Garisons, and when, both before and since the Invasion, from the Time of the first Intelligence?*

